UNITED NATIONS

General Assembly

FORTY-EIGHTH SESSION

Official Records

SPECIAL POLITICAL AND
DECOLONIZATION COMMITTEE
(FOURTH COMMITTEE)
24th meeting
held on
Monday, 29 November 1993
at 3 p.m.
New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 24th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. KALPAGE (Sri Lanka)

CONTENTS

AGENDA ITEM 87: COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS (continued)

ANNOUNCEMENT CONCERNING SPONSORSHIP OF DRAFT RESOLUTIONS

This record is subject to correction. Corrections should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned *within one week of the date of the publication* to the Chief of the Official Records Editing Section, room DC2-794, 2 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

Corrections will be issued after the end of the session, in a separate corrigendum for each Committee.

Distr. GENERAL
A/C.4/48/SR.24
31 January 1994

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

93-82753 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 3.15 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 87: COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS (continued) (A/48/158, A/48/173, A/48/291-S/26242 and Corr.1-2, A/48/349-S/26358, A/48/403/Add.1 and Corr.1-S/26450/Add.1 and Corr.1 and A/48/515-S/26605; A/C.4/48/L.18 and L.19)

1. Mr. PIRIZ-BALLON (Uruguay), noting that his country had committed approximately 1,000 troops to eight ongoing peace-keeping operations, said that it had long been its policy to participate in such operations to an extent far out of proportion to its geographical size or military strength, because it saw international security as the collective responsibility of all States, and peace-keeping operations as an essential tool in the maintenance of world peace. Such operations alone would not, of course, resolve a conflict, nor were they purely military undertakings. Rather, as an instrument for the creation of a climate of stability, they were part of a political solution to conflicts. They were not the appropriate instrument for all crises but only for those where there was reasonable hope of success and a clearly defined mandate, and they must be used only in strict compliance with the Charter.

2. The recent dramatic developments in Somalia and Haiti, the lack of progress in the former Yugoslavia, the poor management of some operations and the Organization's financial difficulties had fostered scepticism, particularly in the media, about the ability of the United Nations to rise to the task. Such "second generation" peace-keeping operations, often conducted in the context of complex internal situations, had been a particular challenge. Yet, on balance, the peace-keeping operations had been an undeniably successful form of preventive diplomacy.

3. Some aspects of peace-keeping operations none the less required urgent attention. Unity of command and control were indispensable for successful peace-keeping and there must be clearly established lines of command and proper coordination between Headquarters and field missions. Draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.18, which Uruguay had sponsored, took a balanced approach, dealing with such matters as adequate Secretariat administrative capacity or the need for greater participation by troop-contributing countries in the planning, management and coordination of peace-keeping operations. The principal parties involved in any peace-keeping operation, were the Security Council, which exercised decision-making and political control, the Secretariat, which exercised operative control, and the troop-contributing countries, which provided the human and material resources.

4. A second issue which should be addressed was the structure of the Secretariat. Certain welcome changes had already been made in the past year, such as the transfer of the Field Operations Division to the Department of Peace-keeping Operations - a move which had already led to the adoption of a unified approach to administrative, logistical, political and operational aspects - or the establishment of a 24-hour/7-day-a-week situation centre, which would improve coordination, command and control, and information gathering, and

(Mr. Piriz-Ballon, Uruguay)

which should be put on a permanent footing. Uruguay also supported the proposal for the establishment of a stand-by forces planning team, and the identification of a Secretariat unit responsible for planning which would deal with political, operational, logistical, administrative and financial aspects of peace-keeping operations. Adequate training of peace-keeping personnel was essential for the success of an operation and also for the security of the forces themselves. The focal point for peace-keeping training recently established in the Department of Peace-keeping Operations would have to develop common training criteria for the many and diverse contingents serving on peace-keeping missions.

5. On the issue of the safety of peace-keeping personnel, his delegation welcomed the establishment of a working group of the Sixth Committee to draft an international convention on the matter, and it supported the idea of a memorial for United Nations peace-keepers who had lost their lives.

6. Perhaps the most troubling issue, however, was the financial situation of peace-keeping operations, for Governments did not seem to feel the same urgency to finance them as to establish them. His delegation supported the Secretary-General's budget proposals aimed at strengthening the peace-keeping capacity of the Secretariat. Financing was a collective responsibility which must be based on universality and equitable distribution. The failure to reimburse troop-contributing countries was another problem which must be dealt with urgently, especially since a great number of developing countries were involved. The whole system of financing peace-keeping operations needed to be overhauled.

7. Mrs. RAKOTONDRAMBOA (Madagascar) observed that the breadth and complexity of the task of peace-keeping meant that human, financial and material resources must be available on a regular basis. Her delegation supported the steps already taken and the recommendations made to increase the peace-keeping capability of the United Nations, in particular through the establishment of a stand-by forces planning team and arrangements for training civilian, police and military peace-keeping personnel, such as the proposed training programme for national or regional trainers, in which Madagascar was prepared to participate.

8. Her delegation supported the operational principle set out in document S/25859 whereby a peace-keeping operation must have a clear political goal with a precise mandate subject to periodic review and to change in its character or duration only by the Security Council. Setting a timetable in conjunction with each mandate would be a way of holding the parties concerned to compliance with their obligations. The tragic events in Somalia had demonstrated the importance of a unified command and a clearly established chain of command and, in that connection, her delegation supported draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.19.

9. Her delegation welcomed the restructuring of the Secretariat and the recent strengthening of its capacity to plan and manage peace-keeping operations. The experts and agencies to be associated with any mission should be involved in its planning so that a common strategy could be developed. The establishment of the proposed situation centre should improve the management of ongoing operations.

(Mrs. Rakotondramboa, Madagascar)

10. Given the great influence the media had had in recent times not only in forming public opinion but actually in guiding decisions regarding peace-keeping operations, it was very important for the Department of Public Information to set up a programme to inform the population in the field about the objectives of a mission and to educate the general public about the principles of the United Nations and the aims of the mission.

11. Unfortunately, the humanitarian assistance that had become a basic element of peace-keeping operations was being used by warlords as a weapon against their enemies and as a means of blackmailing and manipulating the international community. In a situation where United Nations troops were not respected, it was alarming that there were no real guarantees for their safety, only preventive measures, or damage control before the fact. The safety of peace-keeping personnel depended on the political will of the parties to the conflict, and it was thus essential for the United Nations to conclude a status-of-forces agreement with each host State, and to agree on prior arrangements with troop contributors. Her delegation welcomed the establishment of a Commission of Inquiry to investigate the armed attacks against peace-keeping forces in Somalia, as well as the decision of the Sixth Committee to begin work on an international convention on the safety of United Nations personnel.

12. There must be closer cooperation on peace-keeping operations between the United Nations and regional organizations such as the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which, with a view to restoring peace and stability in Africa, had set up a special body for conflict prevention, management and resolution, whose work would complement that of the United Nations.

13. Mrs. HOANG THI CU (Viet Nam) expressed the hope that draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.18 would be adopted by consensus.

14. While the threat of global war had receded, bloody conflicts were provoking instability in many parts of the world. In the face of such turbulence the paramount wish of all nations was to preserve international peace and security and promote economic growth and sustainable development. An agenda for development should be drawn up, similar to the Secretary-General's "An Agenda for Peace", which had triggered so much debate.

15. Never before had the United Nations been active in so many areas of conflict. The rising costs of peace-keeping operations, the diversity and complexity of the current operations and the heavy financial burden they imposed on Member States, particularly developing countries, called for a thorough re-examination of United Nations peace-keeping operations. All such activities must be carried out in conformity with the Charter and, especially, with the principles of respect for national sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-interference in internal affairs. Enforcement measures such as sanctions were in many cases counterproductive; the aim should be to help the parties to a conflict to move towards a peaceful settlement of their dispute rather than to complicate an already difficult situation.

(Mrs. Hoang Thi Cu, Viet Nam)

16. The General Assembly should play a more active role not only in the financing of peace-keeping operations, but in such areas as coordination between competent United Nations organs, the formulation of guidelines, and oversight. The Security Council and the Secretary-General should, moreover, analyse a given situation very carefully before establishing a peace-keeping operation and should formulate a realistic mandate for each operation in a fair and impartial manner, including clear objectives and a time-frame for the resolution of the problem. In order to improve the planning, management and coordination of peace-keeping operations, the Secretariat units dealing with peace-keeping must be strengthened.

17. Mr. RODRIGO (Sri Lanka) observed that draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.18 dealt comprehensively with the major operational aspects of current peace-keeping operations, while draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.19 dealt with the specifics of United Nations command and control capabilities. Together the two reflected the understandings reached on those questions.

18. There was considerably less clarity, however, surrounding the circumstances in which United Nations intervention could be set in motion. The Charter had not been particularly articulate on that point. The Secretary-General's report entitled "An Agenda for Peace" envisaged the extension of the traditional parameters of peace-keeping operations, and General Assembly resolution 47/120 B reflected the initial perceptions of Member States on those innovative approaches. However, the initiatives undertaken needed to be assessed in the light of experience gathered on the ground, in terms not only of their operational efficacy but also of their broader rationale.

19. The Security Council should discharge its acknowledged responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and, by extension, for peace-keeping operations, in close rapport with the General Assembly and with respect for the principle of the sovereign equality of States. Draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.18 made the point (para. 24) that the Security Council and the Secretary-General should analyse a given situation very carefully before establishing a United Nations peace-keeping operation. That was the primary and most vital stage in United Nations peace-keeping. The temptation to act because there was agitation for action must be resisted. The Council must be fully briefed by all sources on the dynamics of each individual situation which might affect international peace and security, and both the Council and the Secretary-General should remain in close touch with the State in question. The arguments for United Nations intervention should be offset against the sometimes better option of non-intervention. All internal measures being pursued to deal with a situation should be encouraged, for essentially domestic upheavals would only be exacerbated by ill-conceived intervention that failed to take into account the local complexities involved. The injunction in Article 2 (7) of the Charter was important to safeguard the integrity and sovereignty of individual States as well as the credibility of the United Nations itself.

20. Full and free debate should precede decisions to establish peace-keeping operations, and any eventual intervention must have the consent of the States concerned. The agreed mandates should be clear, the goals and deadlines set

(Mr. Rodrigo, Sri Lanka)

should be realistic and the resources to meet those goals and deadlines should be adequate. Resources for peace-keeping operations should, however, not be apportioned at the expense of development and social and humanitarian programmes. The prospects of success of an operation had to be considered.

21. Where operations entailed enforcement action and economic sanctions, the adverse effects on third countries, particularly developing countries, should also be properly assessed and compensatory measures should be considered when defining peace-keeping mandates.

22. It was not easy to determine the existence of a threat to international peace and security; such threats could stem from political, social or economic factors. Despite their gravity, many situations might not constitute threats to international peace and security but might lead to disorder, economic dislocation and other humanitarian problems which were within the competence of United Nations bodies other than the Security Council. Indeed, the Council should encourage those bodies of the United Nations system which dealt with humanitarian matters to explore, at the request of the Member States concerned, even quasi-political measures which could ease a situation. Security Council action launched with primarily humanitarian aims could go awry. The sad instances in which the United Nations flag had become the butt of hostility could affect the credibility of peace-keeping operations in general and eventually the Organization's effectiveness in maintaining international peace and security.

23. Major troop-contributing countries were conducting internal policy reviews to determine the circumstances in which peace-keeping operations could be supported. Some developing countries which had not been reimbursed for operations were showing greater circumspection in volunteering further support. Those were additional reasons why peace-keeping operations should be established only after the broadest possible sounding of the views of States. Where Security Council decisions were not based on universal acceptance, support for operations would be less than enthusiastic and the shortage of financial and other resources would only be aggravated. His delegation welcomed the suggestion in draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.18 (para. 42) for dealing with the root causes of the difficulties some operations were experiencing. Underlying the questions of operational and logistical arrangements, financing, organization, training and security of personnel, and command and control was the more fundamental issue of the conditions in which United Nations intervention was justified.

24. Mr. IVANOV (Bulgaria) said that the scope of United Nations peace-keeping operations was expanding to encompass new responsibilities in a broad range of fields.

25. His delegation supported the principles of broad participation and pooled resources in peace-keeping and related activities and was fulfilling its responsibilities by contributing troops to the United Nations Transition Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC). Practical experience gained through his country's participation in UNTAC had shown the importance of the precise

(Mr. Ivanov, Bulgaria)

definition of objectives, effective planning and management, command and control capabilities, logistical support and communications between Headquarters and the field. In that context, Bulgaria viewed the transfer of the Field Operations Division to the Department of Peace-keeping Operations, the establishment of a 24-hour/7-day-a-week situation centre, and the idea of identifying a focal point for information on all facets of ongoing or planned peace-keeping operations as positive and pragmatic developments. In order to ensure adequate coordination between national peace-keeping contingents and international staff participating in peace-keeping operations, a set of common standards should be devised for logistical support, financial administration and specialized training for all civilian and military personnel.

26. His delegation was seriously concerned about the security of United Nations peace-keeping and other personnel. He paid tribute to those who had given their lives and called upon Member States to translate their legal, political and moral obligations in that area into a legal instrument that would ensure adequate protection for United Nations field missions. His delegation also supported the measures to protect peace-keeping and other United Nations personnel outlined in General Assembly resolution 47/72 and in the report of the Secretary-General (A/48/349), as well as in the statements made by the President of the Security Council on that subject and in Security Council resolution 868 (1993). Furthermore, his delegation endorsed the comprehensive approach taken by the Sixth Committee in its deliberations on the elaboration of an international convention on the status and safety of United Nations forces and associated civilian personnel. Bulgaria's experience in its first peace-keeping operation had reaffirmed the importance of specialized training. It was in the process of adopting a legal, political and organizational framework for its peace-keeping capabilities and would appreciate any practical bilateral or multilateral assistance which Member States could provide in that regard. His Government was grateful to those States which had offered assistance in the form of training for the Bulgarian UNTAC contingent and it was prepared to continue that cooperation with a view to developing a national curriculum for peace-keeping training.

27. His delegation endorsed the conclusions and recommendations in the report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations (A/48/173) and in draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.18. It also endorsed draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.19. In that connection, it shared the concerns expressed by other delegations with regard to the financial difficulties of the Organization, especially with regard to peace-keeping. While United Nations peace-keeping contributed significantly to international and national efforts to maintain stability and security, the large scale of peace-keeping activities had resulted in a cost explosion. His delegation supported the establishment of the Office of Inspections and Investigations, as well as recent steps to improve the management of resources allocated to peace-keeping.

28. With regard to the concept of peace enforcement as an option for conflict settlement, his delegation believed that it must be carefully considered only as a last resort and on an exceptional, case-by-case basis. The concept of preventive diplomacy also merited further elaboration and should be studied in

(Mr. Ivanov, Bulgaria)

the context of Chapter VIII of the Charter, especially with regard to opportunities for cooperation with regional organizations and arrangements in order to ensure that the burden was adequately shared and that efforts were complementary.

29. Mr. ACHARYA (Nepal) said that the Committee's task was to formulate practical guidelines with a view to finding a balance between the ever-increasing demand for United Nations assistance and the resources available to meet those demands, particularly, in the area of peace-keeping operations. At the same time, however, the difference between the level of resources allocated to peace-keeping operations and the level available for operational activities for development necessitated a critical review of the directions in which the Organization was moving in the post-cold-war era.

30. Nepal had been contributing troops to United Nations peace-keeping operations for many years and thus had a stake in the decisions taken by the Security Council and the recommendations made to it by the Secretariat with regard to peace-keeping operations. For that reason, his delegation believed that the establishment of any peace-keeping operation should be preceded by a careful examination of the situation in order to lay the groundwork for a clearly defined and practicable mandate. The United Nations operations in Cambodia and El Salvador were positive examples of that approach.

31. His delegation attached great importance to close coordination between the General Assembly and the Security Council on peace-keeping matters and supported the proposal for the establishment of a permanent mechanism for continuing interaction between troop-contributing countries, countries which provided resources for peace-keeping operations, the Security Council and the Secretariat.

32. His delegation supported the view that the scale and scope of current United Nations operations required a clear and precise definition of the command and control relationship within Headquarters and in the field and between the field and Headquarters. That would require a clear commitment from the troop-contributing countries that their contingents would adhere to the United Nations command and control system. A clearly defined mandate for the mission and continuing consultations with the troop-contributing countries would do much to allay the concern of those countries regarding the safety of their personnel. In that connection, his delegation welcomed the situation reports which were currently being provided on a regular basis concerning some United Nations missions and supported the establishment of an expanded planning and operational unit within the Department of Peace-keeping Operations.

33. His delegation understood the constraints of the Secretariat in the face of increasing demands for peace-keeping operations. It supported the transfer of all core activities relating to peace-keeping to the Department of Peace-keeping Operations and the establishment of a functional around-the-clock situation centre within that Department, but he pointed out that the Department would require a significant increase in human and material resources. His delegation therefore, welcomed the arrangement whereby Member States might provide

(Mr. Acharya, Nepal)

personnel on a short-term basis to augment the capacity of the Secretariat and urged that the Secretariat's capacity should be reinforced accordingly. In that context, it was very important to take advantage of the experience gained by personnel from developing countries in both the military and the civilian aspects of United Nations operations. His delegation welcomed the recommendations of the Secretary-General that Member States should identify personnel who could be made available on a stand-by basis for peace-keeping operations, on the understanding that any final decision to deploy stand-by forces would be left to the countries concerned. It would appreciate receiving further information on the work of the study team on that subject.

34. His delegation was gratified to note the growing emphasis on the training of peace-keeping personnel. In that context, it believed that arrangements for such training should be reviewed jointly by Member States, other organizations and the Secretariat. The issuance of training guidelines and manuals for civilian, police and military personnel would make it easier to establish standards in that area. His delegation supported the establishment of a United Nations peace-keeping fellowship.

35. The high cost of peace-keeping operations made it imperative that close attention should be paid to financial considerations in all phases of planning. In that connection, his delegation had welcomed the establishment of a Peace-keeping Reserve Fund and noted the discussion in the Secretary-General's report regarding the reimbursement of all outstanding dues of troop-contributing countries. It was important that those countries should be guaranteed that the Organization would honour its obligations to make timely and adequate reimbursement. His delegation also strongly supported the institutionalization of the special assessment scale which was currently in operation.

36. He noted with concern the increase in casualties among United Nations peace-keeping personnel. He appreciated the seriousness with which the Secretary-General was addressing the problem and welcomed the establishment of a working group within the Sixth Committee to draw up a legally binding international instrument to reinforce existing arrangements regarding the safety and security of United Nations personnel. He thanked the New Zealand delegation for its initiative in that area in both the Security Council and the General Assembly.

37. The complexities of the challenges and the limited capacity of the United Nations to respond to every call for assistance underlined the need for closer cooperation between the United Nations and regional arrangements and organizations. His delegation believed that further consideration should be given to ways and means of enhancing links with regional organizations in matters of peace-keeping and peacemaking, in conformity with Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter and the relevant instruments of the regional organizations concerned.

38. The concept of peace-keeping had undergone a radical evolution. In some cases, the Security Council had invoked Chapter VII of the Charter in approving the mandate of a peace-keeping force; that was a departure from the traditional

(Mr. Acharya, Nepal)

practice of seeking the prior consent of the parties concerned to the deployment of a mission. His delegation understood that there were situations in which strict adherence to the traditional concept of peace-keeping was not always possible and in that context, he said that the Security Council, as the principal organ for the maintenance of international peace and security, must act in an impartial and even-handed manner and must be perceived as doing so. He believed that a close working relationship between the General Assembly and the Security Council was indispensable if some of the more unorthodox recommendations contained in "An Agenda for Peace" were to be put into practice.

39. The United Nations was what its Member States wished it to be. Without the political will of Member States, and especially of the permanent members of the Security Council, simply to mandate an operation under Chapter VII of the Charter was little more than a political gamble. The tendency to substitute humanitarian operations for political indecision was an unfortunate result of the ambivalence of some Member States regarding the enforcement of the decisions of the Security Council. Member States could either commit themselves to peace-keeping as the only available means of mitigating a conflict or they could decide that the United Nations could have no meaningful role in maintaining peace.

40. Mr. PANTIRU (Republic of Moldova) said that the issue of peace-keeping operations was of particular significance for his country as a result of conflict in the Dniester region.

41. His delegation was fully aware of the fact that the United Nations was confronted with a growing number of new threats to international security and stability which placed increasing demands on its resources. It therefore supported and encouraged the trend towards involving regional organizations and arrangements in cooperation with the United Nations in the mitigation of some conflicts. That involvement should not, however,lead to the creation of two categories of peace-keeping operations: one under the auspices of the United Nations or in conformity with United Nations standards, and the other, the so-called "ad-hoc operations" based on different rules and procedures. His delegation believed that peace-keeping operations were successful to the extent that they fully respected the principles and criteria governing deployment and command and control. In that context, it attached particular importance to the definition of a clear and precise mandate for peace-keeping operations, the consent of the parties to the conflict and, most of all, transparency, impartiality and credibility.

42. With respect to peace-keeping operations in his country, he said that the peace-keeping force had contributed to the observance of cease-fire agreements and to the relaxation of tension in the area. Separatist leaders in the eastern districts of the country had, however, been continuously obstructing the political dialogue with the duly constituted authorities of the Republic of Moldova. In doing so, they were taking advantage of the presence of the peace-keeping force to establish illegal bodies and institutions. The separatist regime had also received economic, financial, military and political assistance from sources inside the Russian Federation. As a result, the

(Mr. Pantiru, Republic of Moldova)

separation force had become a curtain behind which elements from outside the Republic of Moldova had been permitted to influence developments in the region under the control of the separatists in violation of the principles of international law.

43. The Republic of Moldova had on several occasions requested the assistance of the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in the settlement of the conflict. It appreciated the work of the two United Nations fact-finding missions and the establishment of a long-term CSCE mission in the country. However, the mandate of the CSCE mission, which was to gather and provide information on the situation, including the military situation, and to investigate specific incidents and assess their political implications, had not been fully discharged.

44. Peace-keeping and peacemaking activities should be truly international in nature and should be undertaken in strict compliance with the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the basic CSCE documents. A decision to launch a peace-keeping operation should be made on the basis of consensus, on a case-by-case basis, and at the request of the host country without any kind of external pressure. With respect to participants in such operations, due consideration should be given to the political consequences of involving States which had a clear interest in a particular outcome to the conflict.

45. The United Nations and regional organizations having responsibilities for the maintenance of international security should have the right and the obligation to monitor and control such operations. That, at any rate, was how his delegation interpreted paragraphs 60 to 65 of draft resolution A/48/C.4/L.18. The experience of peace-keeping operations in the Republic of Moldova had shown that the lack of effective monitoring by the international community of ad hoc peace-keeping activities undertaken outside the mandate of the United Nations or of competent regional organizations could have unfortunate consequences.

46. Mr. MUTHAURA (Kenya) said that his delegation agreed with the view expressed by the Secretary-General in his report (A/48/349-S/26358), that developments that had taken place in the past year, in particular the conditions in which United Nations personnel were expected to operate, called for the strengthening of the existing system of peace-keeping operations. Security considerations should therefore become an integral part of the planning for new operations, with priority given to the improvement and standardization of communications and to the training of staff in security matters. Such measures would obviously entail additional expenditures.

47. Kenya, which had contributed military and police personnel to various peace-keeping operations, was convinced of the need for ready funds to facilitate faster responses to peace-keeping emergencies. It therefore supported the establishment of the Peace-keeping Reserve Fund. It felt, however, that the present level of $150 million was inadequate and accordingly endorsed the proposal that it should be increased in order to cover start-up

(Mr. Muthaura, Kenya)

costs, and urged that a formula should be developed to provide a more predictable financial basis for peace-keeping operations.

48. Despite the unprecedented financial burden which peace-keeping operations placed on the United Nations, it would be a mistake to assess their impact in monetary terms alone. The most important consideration should be to minimize human catastrophes in conflicts where peace-keeping operations were required.

49. His delegation shared the view expressed in the Special Committee's report (A/48/173, para. 20) that in view of the increasing complexity and diversity of peace-keeping operations, reliable, stable and timely availability of financial, human and material resources had become an increasingly important factor in ensuring the smooth and effective management of peace-keeping operations. In that regard, his delegation welcomed the steps taken by the Secretary-General to set up stand-by forces and agreed that there was merit in the idea of establishing a list of experts available from within the Secretariat as well as from Member States for fact-finding, technical and good offices missions. It endorsed the idea of stockpiling essential and standard peace-keeping equipment through donations from countries which were reducing their regular forces.

50. His delegation was concerned about the delays in the reimbursement of troop-contributing countries, which had led to serious budgetary constraints, especially in the developing countries. The persistence of such a situation compromised the principle of broad participation in United Nations operations. According to an earlier the report of the Secretary-General (A/47/965), unpaid debts to Member States which had participated in United Nations peace-keeping operations had amounted to approximately $605 million as at 30 September 1993, a figure which was considerably higher than the amount due at the same date in previous years. It was therefore imperative that Member States should honour their financial obligations to the Organization through the timely payment of assessed contributions and the payment of arrears. A review of the formula for assessing contributions should, as in the past, take capacity to pay as the most important element.

51. While his delegation welcomed the increasing recourse to United Nations peace-keeping for the maintenance of international peace and security, it felt that there should always be broad-based consultations in regard to peace-keeping decisions during both the involvement and disengagement process. The credibility of the United Nations should be maintained, and to that end the Secretary-General should submit regular performance reports on all operations. He welcomed the growing practice of informal consultations between the Secretary-General and troop contributing countries and hoped that it would continue. Given the nature of the decisions, the consultations should be on a tripartite basis and involve also the Security Council, in accordance with the universally accepted principles of transparency and accountability.

52. With regard to regional conflicts, his delegation favoured further cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations in all phases of peace-keeping operations, in accordance with Chapter VIII of the Charter. While the Security Council bore primary responsibility for the maintenance of

(Mr. Muthaura, Kenya)

international peace and security, the General Assembly should play a more active role in broader aspects of peace-keeping, as the Secretary-General had suggested in "An Agenda for Peace".

53. Peace-keeping was a collective responsibility of the international community. Since it was clear that United Nations peace-keeping operations would remain a priority item for quite some time, all Member States should show the necessary political will and moral commitment.

54. Mr. TELLES RIBEIRO (Brazil) said that the current debate underscored once again the importance of peace-keeping operations for the maintenance of international peace and security. Since 1988 there had been an impressive expansion of peace-keeping operations, in both number and complexity, and Member States from all regions of the world had responded positively to the call to support and participate in them. His delegation believed that it was time for a thorough review of recent experience in that area in order to strengthen and enhance the effectiveness of peace-keeping operations while ensuring the safety of the personnel participating in them.

55. Careful consideration should be given to recent developments in peace-keeping operations such as the growing recourse to enforcement action under Chapter VII of the Charter. In cases which appeared to be outside the more traditional mandates and practices of peace-keeping operations, the observance of certain basic principles was crucial for a successful outcome. Those principles, as indicated in his Government's written observations on the subject (A/AC.121/39/Rev.1), included: first, the deployment of a peace-keeping operation should, to the extent possible, be contingent upon securing the prior consent of the parties concerned and should have their agreement and cooperation; second, the Security Council, as the organ having primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, should specify well-defined mandates and objectives; third, peace-keeping operations should be defined and implemented in an impartial manner and should be perceived as impartial by the parties concerned; and fourth, the authority of United Nations peace-keeping operations should ultimately lie in their essentially non-combatant role.

56. United Nations peace-keeping operations were an instrument to assist the relevant peacemaking efforts on the ground. They might be of crucial support to broader diplomatic efforts, but they were not an end in themselves. The deployment of a United Nations force should be warranted by the political situation, otherwise "preventive" action might become "premature" action.

57. The amount of attention and resources devoted to peace-keeping efforts in recent times, while necessary and commendable, led to imbalances in the functioning and even in the structure of the Organization. In that regard, he noted the observations by the Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) that the volume of resources allocated to peace-keeping in the past two years had been much larger than that assigned to operational activities for development. While in many cases peace-keeping operations were conducted in support of humanitarian and development assistance programmes, their respective

(Mr. Telles Ribeiro, Brazil)

mandates and objectives should not be confused. The integration of the humanitarian component into peace-keeping operations might increase the logistical and planning problems of all missions which were often over-extended. It should be borne in mind, however, that appropriate bodies and mechanisms existed to provide humanitarian assistance. His delegation noted the new measures adopted by the Secretary-General with a view to restructuring the Secretariat in the peace-keeping sector, in particular the transfer of the Field Operations Division to the Department of Peace-keeping Operations. It hoped that that would enhance the efficiency of the logistical activities of peace-keeping operations without compromising the administrative support provided by the Division to other United Nations field operations.

58. Two other areas - planning and the preparation of cost estimates - also needed additional strengthening. In some instances, the Secretariat's handling of the administrative aspects of peace-keeping operations led to inadequate costing and budgeting. Member States were increasingly concerned at the current difficulties faced by the Secretariat in those areas.

59. His delegation noted with deep concern the increase in the number of attacks against United Nations personnel engaged in peace-keeping operations and welcomed the inclusion in the agenda of the General Assembly of item 152. In that regard, his delegation had taken note of the suggestion put forward the previous year by the representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) that the United Nations should examine the possibility of formally declaring its commitment to abide by the relevant norms of international humanitarian law in all operations carried out under its authority.

60. With regard to the financing of peace-keeping operations, he noted that, according to draft resolution A/C.4/48/L/18, the costs of peace-keeping operations should be borne by Member States in accordance with Article 17 of the Charter. In that connection, he drew attention to three other points which should be taken into consideration: first, the need for a special procedure for the apportionment of peace-keeping costs, different from that relating to the regular budget; second, the special responsibility of the permanent members of the Security Council, as recognized in General Assembly resolution 1873 (S-IV); and, third, the fact that the economically more developed countries were in a position to make significantly larger contributions than the developing countries. The special scale for the apportionment of the expenditures of peace-keeping operations, established by resolution 3101 (XXVIII) had become a solid institution of the United Nations, and the political and economic considerations underlying it remained valid.

61. With regard to the organization and methods of work of the Special Committee, he noted that the existing arrangements allowed for the broad participation of all interested delegations in the Committee's deliberations. However, since the participation of Member States in peace-keeping operations was becoming increasingly universal, it should perhaps be transformed into an open-ended committee.

(Mr. Telles Ribeiro, Brazil)

62. The detailed provisions of draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.18 reflected the climate generated by the new trends in peace-keeping operations. Inevitably, however, the large number of proposals submitted had resulted in a text which did not provide clear directions to the Secretariat. His delegation was ready to participate with other delegations in the Special Committee with a view to restructuring and streamlining its work.

63. Brazil attached great importance to United Nations peace-keeping activities, having participated in many operations since 1956. It was currently participating in eight operations on three different continents and was considering increasing its participation.

64. Mr. CARDENAS SUAREZ (Mexico) said that the increasing recourse to the United Nations for peace-keeping operations was a clear sign of the insecurity and uncertainty that marked the new international situation. Peace-keeping operations, which had been introduced to break the deadlock resulting from East-West rivalry, had become an excellent instrument to meet the challenges of building a new pattern of international relations. There were, however, limits to what could be achieved by the international community through peace-keeping operations - limits based on international law, on universally shared principles and purposes and on political and practical considerations.

65. Respect for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, especially the inviolability of sovereign rights and the internal jurisdiction of States, should be the essential framework for any peace-keeping operation. Any decisions taken by the Security Council on behalf of the Organization should reflect the broadest possible consensus among Member States. That was the only way to preserve the Organization's credibility.

66. Any peace-keeping operation must, therefore, begin with the consent of all parties to the conflict. United Nations forces could not, and must not, be forced to engage in combat with a population which did not accept their presence. When United Nations forces became protagonists in a conflict, the resulting harm went beyond the failure of the mission: it jeopardized the lives of the members of the United Nations forces, negated the mission's true role as an impartial mediator, and undermined the Organization's credibility. Recognition of the fact that peace could not be imposed from outside was an essential step in ensuring the viability of peace-keeping operations.

67. The definition of a clear-cut mandate for the establishment of a peace-keeping operation was of crucial importance. Before authorizing any such operation, the Security Council and the Secretary-General should analyse all the details and formulate a precise mandate of limited duration in keeping with the actual situation and reflecting the broadest possible consensus. If the mission exceeded that mandate it would run the risk of losing control of its own activities, with resulting costly and tragic errors.

68. Mexico supported the proposals aimed at guaranteeing the safety of United Nations personnel engaged in peace-keeping operations, but it was convinced that the best way of achieving that aim was the full observance of two basic

(Mr. Cardenas Suarez, Mexico)

principles: the non-combatant nature of such operations and the prior consent of the parties.

69. The growing economic burden which peace-keeping operations placed on Member States was a matter of the utmost concern. His delegation recognized the need to devise ways and means of providing peace-keeping operations with a solid financial base and supported the measures proposed in the draft resolution to relieve the burden on Member States. All States were responsible for financing peace-keeping operations, but the permanent members of the Security Council should assume a share of the financial burden commensurate with their special responsibility under the Charter.

70. Mexico had not only participated in peace-keeping operations by providing civilian and police personnel, but had worked towards the peaceful settlement of disputes, the development of international law, disarmament and cooperation among nations. A climate of development, stability and cooperation was essential for a stable and lasting peace.

71. Peace-keeping operations were a last resort in the search for peace; they were not in themselves a solution to the problems underlying disputes and conflicts. International peace and security continued to be threatened not only by aggressive nationalism and political and religious fanaticism but also, and above all, by the alarming conditions of critical poverty and inequality of opportunity which separated peoples from each other. Only a comprehensive approach to the purposes and functions of the Organization would enable the United Nations to meet the challenges facing it on the threshold of the twenty-first century.

72. Mr. SEARLE (Chile) said that since the end of the cold war the United Nations presence was in evidence in many parts of the world. While the readiness of the international community to resolve conflicts by peaceful means was to be welcomed, by the same token it had to be asked why so many conflicts continued to arise. The international community must devote its energies persistently and imaginatively to finding satisfactory solutions to the problems which gave rise to the conflicts.

73. The responsibility of the United Nations to promote international peace and security was inseparable from the economic, social and humanitarian factors which lay at the root of many of the current conflicts. Although the direct causes of such conflicts - for example, nationalist, ethnic or religious tensions - might vary, the United Nations should work hard to ensure the success of its development policies. The need for peace-keeping operations would thus, with time, tend gradually to decrease.

74. Pointing out that Chile had unreservedly supported United Nations peace-keeping operations and had contributed forces to five of them, he said that, in order to improve their efficiency, priority should be given to reviewing the mandate of such operations. Clear and achievable objectives would make for both a clearer assessment of results and a better use of human and financial resources.

(Mr. Searle, Chile)

75. In connection with better defined mandates, he recalled the exceptional nature of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. In authorizing peace-keeping operations the Security Council had depended on that Chapter too frequently, thus running the risk of devaluing it. Commending the Secretary-General's report "An Agenda for Peace", he supported the wider use of preventive diplomacy and a greater role for regional operations. More frequent recourse to Chapters VI and VIII of the Charter could produce advantageous and effective results and at the same time reduce the need for the measures set out in Chapter VII, Articles 41 and 42.

76. With regard to the financing of peace-keeping operations, he reaffirmed his delegation's support for the retention of the existing scale of assessments. The permanent members of the Security Council had special responsibilities and privileges as far as international peace and security were concerned, while the financial capacity of developing countries was limited. He also welcomed the improvement in the Secretariat's management and planning capacity. He considered, however, that consultations between the Secretariat and troop-contributing countries should take place on a regular basis.

77. Expressing his support for the free exchange of information, which was helpful both for the Secretariat and for troop contributors, he welcomed the move by the Department of Peace-keeping Operations to send military technical advisers to visit various countries in connection with the setting up of stand-by forces. The results of such visits, however, should be considered very carefully and with great caution, taking into account the suggestions of all delegations. The same applied to the consideration of the possible establishment of regional training centres.

78. He welcomed the steps that had been taken to protect the safety of United Nations personnel - both military and civilian - and paid tribute to those who had lost their lives in peace-keeping operations. He appealed to all parties in conflict, wherever they were, to seek a lasting peace so that those lives would not have been sacrificed in vain. Peace-keeping operations were no substitute for efforts to find solutions to conflicts.

79. His delegation strongly supported draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.18. It dealt comprehensively with the concerns that had been expressed and the urgent need to make peace-keeping operations a dynamic and useful instrument.

80. Mr. CARDENAS (Argentina), referring to the contributions that his country had made to peace-keeping operations, said that it was participating in nine current operations, involving a total of 1,500 personnel. In addition, it had held a high-level seminar on peace-keeping forces in Buenos Aires, which had been attended by several eminent persons connected wit' United Nations peace-keeping operations. He himself had been one of a group of ambassadors who had met at various times for informal discussions on peace-keeping operations; they had put forward practical ideas on the matter and their conclusions had been circulated among all Member States.

(Mr. Cardenas, Argentina)

81. His country welcomed the Secretary-General's initiative on the establishment of stand-by forces. Such a move would do much to rationalize the contribution of States to peace-keeping operations. He expressed his concern, however, over the situation regarding reimbursements to troop-contributing countries. It was not fair that those States should bear the financial burden of peace-keeping activities.

82. He welcomed the reorganization of the Department of Peace-keeping Operations, which would benefit from rationalization, and the establishment of a situation room functioning around the clock, which would also constitute a major step forward for the United Nations.

83. The time had come to review the question of command and control: experience in the field had shown that better communication between the various contingents in a peace-keeping operation was essential. His delegation therefore especially welcomed the draft resolution on strengthening United Nations command and control capabilities (A/C.4/48/L.19), of which his country had become a sponsor.

84. His delegation also supported the Secretary-General's recommendations in his report entitled "An Agenda for Peace", especially those relating to preventive diplomacy and the creation of demilitarized zones. It was time to analyse in depth the whole question of peace-keeping operations.

85. The functioning and objectives of peace-keeping operations were so complex and delicate that his country attached particular importance to the training of the requisite personnel. To that end, a training centre specializing in courses on peace missions was due to open in Buenos Aires in 1994. He invited other countries in his region to take part in such courses. Lastly, he said that priority should be given to the question of the safety of peace-keeping personnel and he paid tribute to those who had lost their lives.

86. Mr. JARAMILLO (Colombia) said that, despite the fact that peace-keeping operations had proliferated since the mid-1980s - and had grown exponentially over the previous year - the world had not become more peaceful. That called into question the principles, practice and limits of the traditional peace-keeping concept. The philosophy behind them should be re-examined and the results of specific operations should be weighed, giving due attention to all their aspects. Although the United Nations had achieved much, the confusion and haste evident in some peace-keeping operations raised doubts as to its capacity to manage such operations efficiently. The United Nations had not yet come to grips with the new realities.

87. Peace-keeping mandates had been broadened to include such elements as election-monitoring, humanitarian aid and human rights. He expressed his concern at the automatic linkage made between such disparate factors. Not all peace operations had a humanitarian component. Separate instruments existed for such projects and there was no need to bring in bodies such as the Security Council to take rapid action. He reminded the Committee of General Assembly resolution 47/120 A, part V, paragraph 2, of which dealt with the question of

(Mr. Jaramillo, Colombia)

coordination between humanitarian assistance programmes and peace-keeping operations. It was also unacceptable for the United Nations to intervene in internal power struggles unless they really affected international peace and security.

88. Priority should be given to the principle of selectivity, both because the United Nations lacked the operational and financial capacity to resolve all conflicts and because a mandate should be restricted to situations that threatened international peace and security. His delegation attached great importance to Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter, which stated that the United Nations should not intervene in matters which were essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State. Above all, any peace-keeping operation should have the explicit consent of all the parties to the conflict.

89. His delegation reiterated its belief that all financial matters, including the funding of peace-keeping operations, should be left to the Fifth Committee, which should also examine draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.18. At the same time, close attention should be given to ensuring the impartiality of the United Nations where the funding of peace-keeping operations was concerned. His delegation had serious reservations regarding private donations. Although the funding of peace-keeping operations was a collective responsibility, the permanent members of the Security Council had a special responsibility. Privileges also carried obligations.

90. In that context, he expressed his country's concern at the high cost of peace-keeping operations, which laid an especially heavy burden on developing countries and impeded their economic and social development. That made it all the more regrettable that in some cases peace-keeping operations had suffered from careless management, inefficiency, extravagance and corruption. He urged that appropriate action should be taken.

91. Supporting the view that regional organizations had an important role to play in complementing United Nations activities, he pointed out that such organizations had their own mandates and priorities and that the United Nations should not give the impression that it was imposing tasks on them. Any cooperation should be reciprocal and bilateral. With regard to preventive diplomacy and demilitarized zones, he stressed the need to remain within the parameters established under resolution 47/120 B. His delegation had serious reservations about cases where only one party to a conflict requested a United Nations presence.

92. His delegation was concerned at the constant recourse to Chapter VII of the Charter, which tended to diminish its usefulness as an instrument for peace and became a way of imposing peace without the consent of the parties concerned. Missions deployed under that chapter were given greater powers than traditional peace-keeping operations. United Nations personnel were similarly drawn into more conflict situations, with the result that the neutrality and impartiality of the United Nations was called into question. In that context, he supported the proposals regarding the formulation of a draft convention on the safety of United Nations personnel.

(Mr. Jaramillo, Colombia)

93. He expressed his country's concern at the fact that peace-keeping operations were sometimes detrimental to other vital interests. Development, democracy and peace were closely interlinked and the recipe for a sure and lasting peace was economic, political and social development. He added that, if the United Nations had recourse too often to the coercive measures outlined in Chapter VII of the Charter, it would run the risk of being associated with aggression. It should rather be identified with the peaceful resolution of conflicts.

94. The CHAIRMAN informed the Committee that Fiji had become a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.18 and that Argentina, Fiji, Ireland, New Zealand, Ukraine and Uruguay had become sponsors of draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.19.

ANNOUNCEMENT CONCERNING SPONSORSHIP OF DRAFT RESOLUTIONS

95. The CHAIRMAN announced that India had become a sponsor of draft resolutions A/C.4/48/L.23, L.25, L.29 and L.31 submitted under agenda item 85.

The meeting rose at 6.05 p.m.